

The University of Chicago

SOCIAL TYPES IN THE
NEGRO COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO
AN EXAMPLE OF THE SOCIAL
TYPE METHOD

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

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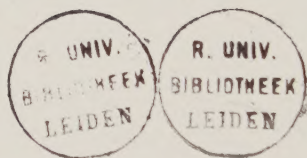
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SOCIAL TYPES IN A MINORITY GROUP

FORMULATION OF A METHOD

SAMUEL M. STRONG

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to describe a method for studying a minority group (the Negro community in Chicago). The object is to isolate empirically some of the significant social types that are defined by the group, to ascertain their meaning in the life of the community, and to indicate the lines of orientation out of which the various social types emerge. It is believed that the empirical study of such indigenous types should offer a strategic means of learning the run of attention of the community, its main problems, and the definitions that are made with reference to issues, crises, and special situations.

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL TYPE

No clear distinction has been made in sociological literature between the concepts of "social type" and "personality type," which are often used interchangeably. Usually, studies of personality types are based on the intention of securing an inclusive scheme into which all individuals can be placed. A series of classes is recognized, and it is believed that all individuals of the population can be considered to belong in one or another of these classes. Furthermore, each class or type is broken down into a series of traits; each personality type is consequently regarded, either in an additive or a synthetic way, as a composite of such traits. Such an approach to the study of personality types easily resolves itself into a study of the makeup of the individual and correspondingly ignores or minimizes the reaction which the group has toward the form of conduct of the type.

This study starts from a different kind of interest.¹ It accepts the social types which the members of a group refer to and recognize in their everyday language. Such types are creations inside of the col-

lective life of the group. They are constructs which the group arrives at by selecting or abstracting accentuated forms of conduct displayed by some of its members and having specific connotations in terms of the interests, concerns, and dispositions of the group. By "conduct," reference is here made to the manner in which people act toward one another in their interpersonal relations in accordance with the norms and expectations of the group. Thus ways of acting, generally accepted and regarded as indicating one's social status in a group would be instances of conduct as here defined. An exaggerated form of conduct in a situation of this nature catches the attention of the people who categorize it accordingly, e.g., the "social climber" or, in the case of the Negro community of Chicago, the "striver."

Social types, as constructs arrived at by the group through abstraction and categorization, emerge in communication. Social types can be understood to arise in the same manner in which objects become meaningful in the process of activity. According to George Herbert Mead, an object is represented by the kind of activity the individual directs toward it. The essential aspect of an object is determined by the type of experience the individual will have with the ob-

¹ The writer is indebted to Professors Herbert Blumer and E. W. Burgess for their invaluable criticism and suggestions. Professor Louis Wirth's *The Ghetto* served as an orientation for this study.

ject. Although objects get their meaning from individual experience, nevertheless one's ability to use objects is dependent upon his grasping the meaning of the objects of the community. Objects are shared because they depend upon the reactions of others. Similarly, a social type has its meaning shared by members of the group.

A person identified as a given social type may be considered as one who gives expression, through his distinctive manner of acting, to a particular set of latent tendencies in the group. These latent tendencies constitute restrained ways of action, precipitated by the special circumstances of the group's minority position. Thus the Negro group, as a result of its position in relation to the general society, is marked by intimacy of in-group social relations and by reticence, suspicion, and resentment toward the superordinate out-group. Such a situation produces social types who fight at "the drop of a hat" or "shoot, cut, or kill" in rebellion against insults caused by members of the superordinate society; or other types whose conduct is categorized as "smart" or as those "who can fool white folk" or "get by with whites." The minority position of such a group creates also the anomalous situation in which the group, though it regards with disfavor and contempt the conduct of that social type who kowtows to those of the superordinate group, nevertheless places a high premium on those who approximate the standards of the general society as exemplified by the preference shown toward those of light complexion. Thus the different social types tend to manifest through their respective norms, interests, and preoccupations the latent tendencies of the group, often of an ambivalent nature.

In the process of categorization the

special name and characterization ascribed to a social type depict his peculiar mode of action in a particular situation, arousing attention and emotions of esteem, admiration, envy, resentment, ridicule, or contempt from the group. To illustrate: the kowtowing to whites by a social type usually referred to by Negroes as a "white man's 'nigger'" brings forth resentment and contempt from the group, while the "race leader," who signifies race pride in the eyes of the community, elicits reactions of esteem and admiration.

Social types reflect various social worlds. The community is made up of a number of broad social classes. The lines of demarcation between the various classes are determined by such factors as social status, economic level, education, and, in the instance of the Negro community, also color differentiation. The members of these social classes may live in various social worlds. Each social world is marked by its objects of attention, perspectives, orientation, problems, conflicts, tensions, and norms, which in turn determine the meaning of the particular characterizations assigned to the social type as well as the kind of emotional reaction the type elicits. Social types stand for what the members who live in these various social worlds believe to be critical and important and refer to what they approve or reject. Thus, for members of one social world, the social type "race leader" is of crucial significance because through his strivings for "race uplift" he tends to bring about a changing conception on the part of the group toward its minority status. In another social world, on the other hand, the social type "policy king" (one who amasses large sums of money through the policy game, a form of gambling) is highly admired because he epitomizes "success"

and because of his role as benefactor in a community which is subject to precarious economic conditions. The group recognizes the exceptional form of conduct of the social type with reference to the portentous situations it faces. These singular forms of conduct which characterize the social type reflect the run of attention of the particular social world amid which the type functions and gives expressions to the social forces within the group.

Since the Negro community of Chicago is in a constant process of social integration and organization development, some of the significant social types through their respective characterizations by the group are indicative of trends, i.e., the growth of race consciousness, the emphasis on race pride, the emergence of social classes, and the stress on Negro business. The process of social change affecting social situations tends to develop new lines of orientation in the collective life. This results in a shift of attention on the part of the members of the group toward the new social types which arise, reflecting the new situations and the direction of the change. In the Negro community the "radical" and the "Communist" are emerging as social types for some segments of the group, owing to the economic crisis with its attendant problems. These social types are beginning to be regarded in terms of racial advancement, however, rather than as exponents of a political and economic doctrine. It is assumed, then, that, by isolating all the more important social types and by studying their social role and meaning, it is possible to form a good judgment of the values and norms of the community, the prevailing conception of life, and the changing forms of their striving and aspirations.

THE CONCEPT OF AXIS OF LIFE

The characterizations which the group ascribes to the various social types it recognizes among its members have specific reference to different axes of life along which the social types tend to cluster. The axes of life are crucial lines of interest in the life of the group (e.g., "Negro-White Relations," "Race Pride," "Social Status," "Economic Success," etc.) and constitute frames of reference according to which the group categorizes some of its members. An axis of life should be viewed in terms of collective action, of relationships based on meanings of one's actions toward others and in which the individual has his interests defined with reference to the larger aims of the group. In the collective life of the group the hopes, problems, and goals of its members become channelized into various lines of common interest. Because they constitute telescoped collective norms and aspirations, axes of life become controlling forces, animating and initiating action. Although an axis of life represents a crucial line of orientation cutting across all classes, nevertheless it elicits different reactions from each part of the group in accordance with the meaning the axis has for a given social class. Different culture groupings will have different axes of life as a result of varying environments, kinds of experience, and cultures. A knowledge of the axes of life enables one to understand what animates the group and what are its vital streams of social life. The axes of life subsume the major problems and concerns which the group faces. These problems and concerns which create tensions and conflicts in the different social worlds are revealed in a particular cluster of social types along a corresponding axis of life.

This point may be illustrated by referring to the Negro community in Chi-

ago. The characterizations ascribed to the social types that cluster along the axis of life, "Color Differentiation," reveal the intense strain, antagonism, and discontent existing in the various social worlds. Thus the dark person may attempt to compensate for his feeling of insecurity through superior achievement and may try to alter hair form and skin color through the use of bleaching creams and hair straighteners. On the other hand, the lighter Negro experiences the type of insecurity that results from his greater awareness of his subordinate position than the darker Negro (color preference tends to enter into some of the most important phases of life in the community). As a result of this, a distinct ambivalence ensues: on the one hand, race pride and sensitivity to the conception some of the members of the white society have of certain sections of the Negro community, and, on the other hand, the discriminatory conduct within the Negro social world toward those of a dark hue. Thus one of the social types, the "black woman," along the axis of life, "Color Differentiation," is generally characterized as "evil," "suspicious," "quarrelsome," "brings bad luck," and "whiskey head." This illustration suggests also that the axes of life comprise the non-formalized problems of the in-group relations between the members of the various segments of the group.

Although the axes of life are interdependent, some are more crucial than others. In the instance of the Negro community of Chicago the axis of life, "Negro-White Relations," emerges as a *primary axis of life* for the entire group, with slight variations in meaning for the different social worlds. The primary axis of life arises as the principal motivating force in the life of a group, constituting a core of common interests and initiating

a course of action for the whole group. It centralizes the aspirations and the outlook on life of the members. Thus the primary axis of life intensifies the community of interests of the group by mobilizing and directing the attention of its members toward the ideals of the collectivity. It defines in a general way the functions of the social institutions of the group. Major activities are judged by the extent to which they are directed toward or deviate from the aims inherent in the primary axis of life.

Reference to the primary axis of life in the Negro community of Chicago will illustrate its crucial significance in the social life of the group. The persistent and devious ways in which Negroes are cut off from the general society and segregated into a "black belt" in this northern industrial metropolis have intensified race consciousness. This kind of Negro-white relationship is inconsistent with the increasing participation by Negroes in the industrial and political life of the city. As a result, the tension and strain arising from their exclusion reverberate in every phase of life in the Negro community, producing a change in the conception the Negro has of his subordinate position and emphasizing the role of racial solidarity in the struggle to maintain self-respect in the face of degradation and discrimination. The nature of the social organization, social institutions, and the general way of life in the Negro community is profoundly affected by the axis of life, "Negro-White Relations." Emphasis upon Negro art, Negro literature, and Negro music as well as the conscious attempt to devise a racial mythology and rituals have all gone into the building of a "cult of race," which is reflected in such total community rituals as "Negro History Week" and inspirational stories such as the one about Jean Baptist Point du

Saible, the San Domingan trader, who is reported to have founded Chicago. Further manifestations of the primary axis of life are the constant exhortations in the Negro press and by civic and religious leaders to create racial unity and race pride. Thus there is a development among Negroes of self-regarding behavior, the assumption of a "superior culture," and a feeling of rebellion against and depreciation of whites.

A primary axis of life affects other axes of life in the community which can be viewed as *subordinate*. Thus the axis of life, "Race Pride," is not only a resultant of the primary axis, "Negro-White Relations," but is being constantly modified by its influence. Likewise, the other *subordinate axes of life*, "Economic Success," "Social Status," "Color Differentiation," "Religion, Cults (Sorcery), and Magic," "Sporting Life (Big-timing or High Life)," and "Radicalism," are shaped and given direction by the primary axis of life, "Negro-White Relations." The subordinate axes, "Social Status," "Economic Success," and "Color Differentiation," exemplify the manner in which the primary axis of life, "Negro-White Relations," intensifies the competition among the various social levels and influences the social norms of the community. The keenness of competition and the criteria of "Success," the exaggerated struggle for status and the discrimination among Negroes on the basis of complexion are due, on the one hand, to the insecure economic condition within a restricted sphere of life and, on the other, to the adoption to some extent of the culture and standards of the general society.

Subordinate axes of life may react back on the primary axis. To illustrate: the organizational and institutional life of Negroes under the impact of some of

the subordinate axes, such as "Race Pride," etc., has produced a situation in which Negroes constitute a political pressure group strong enough to bring about changes in the pattern of race relations in the North. This implies interdependence of the axes of life and indicates that their relation is dynamic and not static.

The foregoing considerations suggest the following problems in the study of a community in terms of social types: What social types are recognized in the everyday language of the community? How widely are these social types recognized? What are the characterizations ascribed to each social type and the various versions the different segments of the community have of these descriptions? What are the axes of life out of which these social types arise? What clusters of social types emerge along the various axes? What social phenomena do the different axes with their corresponding clusters of social types reveal? What do these social types symbolize to the different social classes of the group and, as far as possible, to outsiders? What are the attitudes (emotional reactions)² toward the social types and under what conditions are they held in esteem or disapprobation? What conception do the social types have of their role in the community? What part do they play in the various social worlds?

SOCIAL TYPES IN THE CHICAGO NEGRO COMMUNITY

It was with these questions in mind that the writer studied social types in the

²In defining the concept of social type, the notion of attitude was used synonymously with emotional reaction or orientation. It was pointed out that the social type arises in the process of communication within the group and has its meaning as well as the response it brings forth shared by the members of the group. Consequently, the attitude or emotional reaction of the members of the community toward a social type is socially defined.

Negro community in Chicago.³ The first step in acquiring the empirical data was the collection of a comprehensive list of prevailing social types in the Negro community. In order to obtain such a list, the co-operation of a number of Negro workers was secured. They reported periodically the different types they heard people refer to in daily conversation. Supplementary information was gathered from popular sayings, newspapers, magazines, literature, interview materials, case records, and from direct participation in the life of the group.

When the list seemed inclusive enough, as was indicated by the fact that no more names could be collected, the next step was to find out how people defined and described the various social types. The task was to have the types identified by a wide scattering of individuals in the community, and to secure diversified characterizations of them. A schedule⁴ was devised to reveal a threefold relationship with reference to a particular social type: that of the individual, the community, and the race. Thus the informants were asked (1) how they regarded a particular social type, (2) how the community regarded him, and (3)

³ Acknowledgments are due Mr. Horace R. Cayton for courtesies extended as superintendent of a W.P.A. research project in the Negro community of Chicago.

⁴ For illustrative purposes only, the form (Schedule 1) is shown here. There were sixty-five names of social types. While some overlapped, they were all included in order to isolate the ones most fully identified and characterized. The schedule was composed of twenty-two pages. On each page there were three such identical forms:

whether the particular social type was a credit to the race. There was also a question calling for the informant's description of the identifying characteristics of a social type (e.g., "How do you know when you meet one?"). The question as to how whites regarded particular social types was put to the informants in order to infer the extent to which these indigenous social types are known in the general society or whether knowledge of them is restricted to the Negro community.

The investigator sought also to determine whether the notion of social type as defined in this study corresponded to specific individuals. For that reason there was an additional question on the schedule asking the informant to name someone he knew to be the counterpart of the social type he described. The writer was thus enabled to interview persons identified as social types in the community and to learn the kind of conception they had of themselves as well as their attitude toward the group. The object was to arrive at a composite picture of the relation between the social type and the different segments of the community. In some cases extended accounts of their experiences were secured in order to reconstruct as far as possible the situations leading to their development as social types.

Name of Social Type	1. How do you regard him?	Liked Greatly	Liked Somewhat	Neither Liked nor Disliked	Disliked Somewhat	Disliked Greatly
4. How do you know one when you meet one? (describe below as fully as possible)	2. How does the community regard him?					
	3. How do you think whites regard him?					

5. Is this type a credit to the race? (check one of the squares) Yes ☐ No ☐
6. Please name a person of this type if you can: _____

During the interviews the types were also induced to comment on other social types in order to gain knowledge of their roles in the community from perspectives other than those of the informants.

The number of those who filled out schedules in the first sample consisted of 77 informants, 39 of whom were males and 38 females, all residents of the Negro community in Chicago, ranging in age from twenty to thirty-five. Owing to limited economic opportunities for Negroes, a condition aggravated by the depression, most informants had experienced wide fluctuations on the economic scale despite their educational level. The ecological distribution of the informants was arrived at by spotting their residences on a map representing those census tracts of Chicago having 50 per cent and over Negro population in 1934, grouped in twenty-seven districts, showing desirability of neighborhood. The main object in the preliminary use of such a map was to learn how widely dispersed the informants were in the various areas of the Negro community. They came from all districts and satellite areas. About half the informants resided in the favorable sections, and the balance came from poorer neighborhoods and disorganized areas.

In order to test the validity of the data obtained through the sample of informants who filled out schedules and those who were interviewed, the following procedure was employed. A list of the most widely known social types was drawn up,⁵ so devised that informants were

asked to check only whether they knew the type and what attitudes they had toward him. Several young Negro men interviewed people directly and distributed these schedules among various social groupings in the community with the object of ascertaining how widely recognized these social types were and what attitudes were expressed by the respective groups. In this manner it was possible to learn how widespread the knowledge of these social types was in the community and what significance they had in daily conversation. Four social groupings filled out the second schedule. The first group was composed of thirty Negro students at the University of Chicago. The second group, numbering seventy-five, consisted of teachers, social workers, post-office employees, and some business people—all residents of the Negro community of Chicago. The third included fifty attendants of store-front churches; and the fourth was composed of ninety-five Negro men and women interviewed in taverns, poolrooms, and barbershops, west of State Street. There was random selection among the various groups.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRICAL DATA

By studying the contents of all the definitions of the various social types, it was found that the types clustered along specific lines of interest or axes of life. Since the identifying characteristics of each social type were often noted to be similar in the various characterizations given by informants, a series of defini-

⁵ A sample of Schedule 2 is shown below. There were twenty-five names of social types.

Name of the Social Type	I Know the Type		My Attitude to the Type			Credit to the Race	
	Yes	No	Like	Indifferent	Dislike	Yes	No

tions corresponding to each social type and representative of the entire array of definitions were chosen for analysis. It should be stated explicitly that the definitions selected contained all the views expressed by informants either in interviews or on schedules. The clusters of social types along their respective axes of life which emerged from the characterizations of the informants can be seen in the following:⁶

I. The *Primary* Axis of Life: "Negro-White Relations"

1. The white man's "nigger"
2. The bad "nigger"
3. The smart "nigger"
4. The white man's strumpet
5. The mammy
6. The sheet-lover

II. The Axis of Life: "Race Pride"

1. The race leader
2. The race man
3. The race woman

III. The Axis of Life: "Economic Success"

1. The policy king or policy baron
2. The big "nigger"
3. The big shot
4. The post-office man (post-office clerk)
5. The Pullman porter⁷
6. The hero of the race (Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, etc.)

IV. The Axis of Life: "Social Status"

1. The dickty
2. The hincty
3. The uppety

⁶ For a description and analysis of the empirical data upon which this paper is based see Samuel M. Strong, "Social Types in the Negro Community of Chicago: An Example of the Social Type Method" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1940).

⁷ Some occupational types have the characteristics of social types and meet the criteria established for identifying a social type. The particular way people refer to their conduct, the role they play in the community, the meaning ascribed to them, and the emotional reaction shown toward them make such types as the Pullman porter, the post-office man, etc., distinguished by the people from persons in other occupations.

4. The muck-ti-muck
5. The striver
6. The strainer
7. The joiner
8. The club woman
9. The Mayor of Bronzeville

V. The Axis of Life: "Color Differentiation"

1. The black woman
2. The peola
3. The high yellow (yaller)
4. The mariney

VI. The Axis of Life: "Religion, Cults (Sorcery), and Magic"

1. The jack-leg preacher
2. The women preachers
 - a) The motherly type
 - b) The mannish type
3. The sanctified or holy person
4. The healer
5. The spiritual reader
6. The voodoo or hoodoo man
7. The numerologist
8. The herb doctor or conjurer

VII. The Axis of Life: "Sporting Life (Big-timing or High Life)"

1. The jiver
2. The con man
3. The flunky
4. The flycat or icky
5. The tapper or barfly
6. Mr. Bitch
7. The jive cat
8. The mack
9. The sporting man
10. The freeby
11. The cat
12. The tavern tout
13. The sporting woman
14. The pimp
15. The rug-cutter or carpet chopper
16. Female impersonators (freaks)

VIII. The Axis of Life: "Radicalism"

1. The radical
2. The Communist

The problem as to the number of axes of life in the Negro community was not completely dealt with in this study; for example, "Education" may be discovered to be a developing axis of life and may reveal significant phenomena in the

various social levels. Preliminary investigation in this direction indicated, as a "post-office man" put it: "The average intellectual Negro tends to separate himself from others. He likes to feel himself superior." There are other versions which tend to indicate the increasing interest on the part of the people in the improved status which is directly related to education. It would be interesting to learn which are the emerging social types that may cluster along this axis of life and what they mean to the various segments of the community. Further research is necessary in order to establish whether there are any incipient axes of life in the community by noting the new social types who arise.⁸

The conception some of the significant social types have of their role in the group discloses important data concerning the meaning of the axes of life for the different social levels of the community. Methodologically this device aids in ascertaining the concrete situations to which these social types refer. It reveals the web of complex problems confronting the different segments of the community and throws light on the nature of the social divisions in the group. The conception these types have of their role tends to explain also their genesis as social types, the part they play as central fig-

ures, and their awareness of the crucial and subtle issues in the respective social worlds. For example, the "woman preacher" ("motherly type"), one of the social types along the axis of life, "Religion, Cults (Sorcery), and Magic," while described by those segments of the community who disapprove of her as uneducated and employing crude and discrediting means to maintain her position, is, nevertheless, regarded favorably by those who come to her for faith-healings and attend her church services. Her story reflects the experiences of the newcomers from the rural South who bring with them their own mode of life. She understands the insecure, fluctuating existence of the people in that social level where she is followed and is definitely bent on exploiting that situation. She conceives of herself as the central figure in the life of her group and is constantly striving for more power and control. The conception she has of her role reveals the phenomenon of faith-healing as one of the socially equilibrating forces that exists in an area in which social disorganization is highly prevalent. Faith-healing serves as a social orientation in a social world which is isolated and segregated from the rest of the Negro community. It is a propitiatory form of behavior resulting from the aleatory elements in this environment.

Preliminary investigation was made to learn the extent to which it can be assumed that the social types in the Negro community are indigenous, and thereby indicate the degree of segregation of the Negro social world from the general white society. Schedule 2, comprising the most widely known social types among Negroes, which had been presented to the four social groupings in the community, was submitted to fifty white informants from the middle class residing on the

⁸ The entrance of the United States into the war, the role this minority group plays in the various branches of the armed forces, and its renewed struggle for rights and privileges have no doubt reverberated in the social life of the community to produce new axes of life. In this connection it should be noted that the dynamic character of social life affects the position of the axes and may shift them in such a manner that the different points of contact along the axes assume new connotations for both the subordinate and superordinate groups. Thus, the entrance of Negroes in the Navy and the acceptance of Negroes in industries would alter the direction of the primary axis of life, "Negro-White Relations," which, in turn, would affect the subordinate axes so that new social types would arise who would reflect the changed social situations.

South Side of Chicago and to thirty white students doing graduate work in the social sciences at the University of Chicago. While no conclusive statement can be made, owing to the limitation of the sample, the results are nevertheless sufficiently significant to warrant some consideration. Only a small number of the social types were identified by the whites. Of the few identified, there was no knowledge of what they meant to Negroes. There seems to be very little awareness among the general society of the lines of orientation prevalent in the Negro social world, of the run of attention of the various social levels, and of the problems and concerns confronting the people. In the light of these results it may be stated that a study of such indigenous social types tends to indicate also the degree of separation between the two social worlds: that of the minority group and that of the superordinate general society.¹⁰

Viewed against the background of the entire preceding discussion, it appears that the constructs of the social-type method are not products of the investigator and, consequently, are relatively free from any imputations on his part. It would seem, therefore, that a greater degree of objectivity may be attained through the use of the social-type method than through the use of methods in

which the constructs are heuristic devices arrived at by the sociologist through a process of abstraction and intensification of one or several aspects of a concrete occurrence. The social type differs from Max Weber's ideal type in that the former methodology does not imply any logical constructs on the part of the investigator. Max Weber's ideal-type method may be regarded as a logical approach to reality in the sense that he conceives the function of the empirical sciences of reality as that of bringing order into the empirical world through the power to think. The ideal type, i.e., city economy, capitalism, imperialism, feudalism, is, according to Weber, an ideal boundary concept, according to which reality is measured with a view to clarifying certain significant phases of its empirical makeup. It is an ideal concept with which reality is compared.¹¹ In the process of "measuring reality" with reference to "an ideal boundary concept," account is not taken of the dynamic nature of our changing conceptual world. The static character of the ideal type implies a mechanistic approach to a reality which may be viewed as an ongoing process. It is conceivable also that the investigator may unwittingly be placed in a position in which his "measured reality" should actually represent an epiphenomenon. The crucial question is the manner in which the ideal type is constructed. Will different investigators measure the same reality with reference to "an ideal concept boundary"? Will there be a basis for reconciliation in their respective

¹⁰ The social-type method assumes that socially isolated minority groups develop their own universe of discourse which is likely to give expression to many reactions which are withheld from conventional communication with the out-group. It seems feasible, therefore, that criminal groups could also be studied with the aid of the social-type method. It would be of interest to know what kind of categorizations exist in such groups, what constitute their primary and subordinate axes of life, what social worlds exist within a criminal group, what conceptions the various social types have of their role in their respective segments of the larger groups, and what is the run of attention of the various levels in such a group.

¹¹ Max Weber, "Die Objektivität sozialwissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre* (Tübingen, 1922). See also Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), pp. 601-10; Albert Salomon, "Max Weber's Methodology," *Social Research*, I (May, 1934), 147-68, and "Max Weber's Sociology," *ibid.*, II (February, 1935), 60-73.

schemata? Will the criteria of constructing "an ideal concept boundary" in the instance of different investigators lead toward precision in their respective ideal types?

In formulating the concepts of the social-type method, it was seen that this process of abstraction and categorization is carried on by the group and that the resulting constructs, the social types, identifiable through the attitudes (emotional reactions) and definitions of the group, emerge along different axes of life of the community. These axes are inductively arrived at from the various characterizations of social types by the members of the community. Thus the subjective element on the part of the investigator would tend to be reduced to a minimum by the very nature of the data.

The social-type method offers a strategic means of learning the interests,

problems, and definitions made by a minority group with reference to the general social situation in which it lives. The assumption is that socially isolated minority groups, resenting their exclusion from the larger out-group, develop their own universe of discourse which is likely to give expression to many reactions usually withheld in conventional communication with the out-group. Under such conditions there may develop indigenous social types whose role and function in the group may have specific meaning with reference to particular axes of life. The concrete data which the social-type method yields are of an intimate nature and reveal the collective preoccupation and orientation of the group to its problems. The value of the method, therefore, may be determined by the kind of social phenomena it reveals and by the manner in which they are obtained.

NEWCOMB COLLEGE, TULANE UNIVERSITY

